844 fast enough to break the amniotic sac. Sāi made her a
[278] medicine of mung bean and sugar, both of which wet the uterus, and murmured some magic words to help. Later she worked with her hands at the vagina, twisting the sac a bit to break it. Suddenly the sac ruptured.

Now the child was almost there. The head showed well. Sāi sat down directly in front of Dūan to do the pressing herself. With one hand she held or gently pulled on the baby, with the other she pressed on the abdomen with every
[789] contraction. As she started in, she said magic words. She worked for an hour--no midwife would press more than that--until at last the child was out. A little boy! With her finger Sāi removed the blood from his mouth, and pucked out the lips. Breathing was slow in coming, so she shook him vigorously, then laid him down. Quickly she chewed up an onion and spit it over his body. "Ah-h-h!" A cry, though not very strong! Seeing the new baby appear, Chai, who up to then had been constantly near his mother, rushed precipitously from the house, and refused to come in for hours, in spite of Song and Lek's coaxing.

[787] Everyone had observed an auspicious circumstance: the cord was looped around the baby's neck! This imitation of the holy cord (nongkhon) placed around head and neck in Brahman rites of passage was a rare and good sign. "A cord looped thus could never kill a baby," someone said.

Since the placenta was slow in coming, Sāi prepared to cut the cord while Dūan rested and sipped the fiery snake brand medicine. Depending on circumstances she might cut it
[278] before or after the placenta was out. Taking a rhizome of phlai (McF. 604), a traditional healing root, she laid it on a clod of soil brought in from outside. From one of the
• [412] old bamboo house beams, someone had sliced with a knife a sharp-edged, tapering sliver to serve as a cutter. The cord was stroked 3 times, starting near the baby's stomach "to remove the dirt." Then "something that is in the umbilical cord" was pushed back towards the baby's stomach "to prevent
[778] a flow of blood." She measured the cord from the baby's abdomen to his knee, and tied off 2 places in it with the holy unspun cotton cord used ordinarily in rituals. Laying the part between the 2 knots on the phlai on its bed of soil, and saying her magic "w'nvān a dam pa nō," she cut
[757] the cord with the bamboo cutter. With a chicken feather which had to come "from the mother's yard," she collected a few spider webs from the rafters, mixed them with coconut oil, and painted them around and on the cord-stump, also "to stop the blood-flow." While doing this, Sāi said, "One midwife I know severs the cord by tying it with the thread at 3 places, then burns it with a flame."

Chapter IX

GUIDES FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF CHANGES

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The government of Thailand provides in Bangkok and in other centers of the country up-to-date facilities for training in modern midwifery. It has also created in some places special opportunities for the traditional midwives to upgrade their skills. One of the objectives of the Minburi Health Center was to carry on a certain amount of instruction in modern views. For reasons that have been explained, no one in Bang Chan ever had or even sought modern instruction. The midwives of whom we have spoken grew up entirely in the folk tradition.

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On the basis of the material presented at length in the previous pages, a few suggestions are here advanced which may be of help to these public programs in maternal and child health.

1. Build a program around the idea that it will help women in their age-old role of caring for, raising, and nourishing (liang) children. Emphasize that through new techniques they may increase their strength and care better for themselves and the babies.

2. Change existing practices as little as possible.

3. When a change is offered, ask that the midwife, mother, or whoever observed it watch for certain results which allow them to judge it in relation to the old. The idea is strong that aspects of the natural world can be analyzed and considered pragmatically, then legitimately utilized as a basis for modifying customary behavior.

4. Pay special attention to the places where the old and the new come into conflict and seek ways to resolve these conflicts.

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As an example, let us consider these points in relation to cutting the umbilical cord. Modern instruction recommends the use of scissors--neat, sterilizable, handy--to avoid infection while cutting the cord. People in Bang Chan wish to avoid this infection, too, but for them scissors are unsatisfactory for several reasons: they are scarce, they rust--and

844 178 177 412 this rust is believed to cause tetanus--and they are unsuitable for the ritual objective at the moment of cutting. It will be remembered that cutting the cord on a rhizome of phlai or soil with a bamboo sliver from the housepost guarantees that a child will not roam away from home. Could the bamboo sliver be dipped in "heating" alcohol, or passed over the flame of a holy fire? Could the old family kitchen-knife--long associated with the household--be substituted and dipped in the beneficial heat of boiling water? Such a knife once was substituted on the winnowing tray. Might the phlai or soil be covered with a boiled, clean, old cloth? If modern science succeeds in coming up with an acceptable substitute, one sees the possibility of a very small change making a big difference in the amount of tetanus poisoning observed (Hauck, 1956:41). One should then ask the midwives to watch as to whether the new method reduced the infection called "death because of a red or green face and clenched fists."

262 [261] 372 846 In diet "the concept that a good choice of food is important to the health of both mother and child" (Hauck, 1959:2) was very much shared by modern science and by traditional ideas but the basis of choice was entirely different.[77] Modern science has ascertained that certain foods are beneficial because of certain nutrients, while old beliefs have set up certain foods as desirable because of properties of heating, cooling, compatibilities with the elements, etc. The nature of these properties should be collected and listed. If dietary deficiencies in Bang Chan are noted, the foods that combine the needed beneficial qualities in both systems should be stressed. A hot-tasting tonic (yā) with appropriate dietary supplements, to be taken daily during pregnancy, and another kind during the post-partum period, might be acceptable. The period of the fire-rest is the best place to initiate dietary changes for whatever is done by the fire becomes a habit beneficial to mother and child. The use of boiled water should be encouraged as "making for strength." Again, disturbance of customs is minimized, and the presence or absence of "increased strength" and healthiness can be observed experientially.

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77. Hauck felt the concept was lacking, but it appears only that the grounds of choice were different.

Equipment Used For Food Preparation

252 Equipment used for food preparation by 11 families par-
41 ticipating in the dietary study: clay stove; pots and covers
[251] of clay, light weight aluminum, and enameled iron; frying pans, curved, of sheet iron, with home-made wooden handle on one side, or metal handles on opposite sides (shallow clay pans were also used for frying); basins, pails, chopping boards; grater for coconut: a metal, toothed instrument mounted on one end of a low wooden stool (often called a "wooden rabbit" because the seat of the stool might be shaped like a rabbit); mortar of pottery or stone; wooden pestle; fiber strainers usually with rigid handles, to hold them in place on top of a pot; a large-bladed all-purpose knife; in some households, one or more smaller knives; metal turner, with home-made wooden handle; spoons, with bowls of coconut shell, gourd or wood; tin cans for dipping, measuring rice, etc.; fiber trays used for winnowing rice, for drying food, storing dried chilies, onions, etc.; metal tray for serving food to priests, and for household use; baskets for storing food; (5)faa-(1)chii, or fiber cover, to keep flies and insects off cooked food; large earthenware water jars.

[184] Other items less often used, and owned by relatively few families in Bang Chan, included: steamer; a perforated clay pot or metal pan with cover, designed to fit tightly into another pot in which water was boiled; large wooden mortar, made of a hollowed tree trunk; spring-type egg beater (a strong spiral spring attached to a stick); scale; glass water jars.

Equipment Used in Serving Food and Eating

264 The equipment for serving and eating food might include:
412 flat bottomed bowls with a deep edge, similar to Western-
415 style soup plates, used as individual rice bowls; plates; small bowls for "with-rice" dishes; sauce dishes with stand, for chili sauce; enameled iron or china spoons (Chinese type) used for serving moist foods; forks, used by some families on special occasions;[1] teapot and cups; large rice bowl for ceremonial use (silver or aluminum); large brass spoon with serpent-tail handle, for serving rice; drinking glasses; tiered lunch pail; canteen; thermos bottle.

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1. A relatively poor family (Sharp et al. 1953, p. 223) had one pair of fork and spoon for eating.

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207 Exposure to the media of mass communication seems to act, in
212 a sense, as a substitute for literacy. It may be that through
546 these means either an illiterate farmer can obtain information about the more complex agricultural tools and methods or motivation to try improvements, or both, even though he may not know how to read and write. One may infer that he tends to act on the information thus obtained, since he is more likely than his unexposed opposite number to try out these innovations.

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*177 Acceptance of Urban Patterns

369 The printed word and the mass media are, of course, not solely channels for the communication of knowledge. They are, at the same time a means whereby the farmers may establish some sort of contact with the more sophisticated world outside the community even with highly urban Bangkok.

[291] The survey indicates in a general way the extent to which
[416] the people of Bang Chan have accepted urban patterns. Their grow-
[207] ing acceptance of urban modes is readily apparent even to a casual
[493] visitor: many own shoes, flashlights, wrist watches, radios,
[413] bicycles, fountain pens, modern furniture.* Other urban behavior
[352] is likewise beginning to be noticeable.

One very simple indication of the degree to which urban influences have penetrated is the change in manners of taking food. The farmers traditionally eat with their hands rather than using a fork or spoon. In Bangkok, however, eating utensils are customarily served with the meals in restaurants and are widely adopted as well by the city population. Some Bang Chan inhabi-
*177 tants have picked up this simple urban custom and have substituted
*178 it for eating mainly with their hands. In Bang Chan of 1953, for example, a sizeable minority (26 per cent) report that they use a spoon, fork or both for the evening meal.
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369 That such a simple question can roughly measure exposure
[207] to urban influences, is indicated in the following table, which
[546] shows that respondents who report customarily eating with "urban utensils" are more likely to be exposed frequently to radio and motion pictures and are more likely to have visited in Bangkok.

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[412] * Survey respondents report that their households possess a flashlight (81 per cent); scissors (66 per cent); kerosene lamp (27 per cent); radio (14 per cent). About 41 per cent say they own at least one pair of shoes.

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[653]

47.b. IF YES: For what various activities did you contribute labor?
(See code at end)

c. During the past year, have there been any public welfare activities, not connected with the wat or with religious ceremonies in the home, or not, to which you contributed money or goods?

1. Yes	128
2. No	197
3. Unascertainable	8

d. IF YES: For what various activities did you contribute money or goods?
(See code at end)

[796]

48.a. Have you attended the ceremony of wisaka bucha at Wat BC every year, or only in some years, or only once in many years, or never?

8. Every year	156
9. Only in some years	135
X. Once in many years	21
Y. Never	14
0. Unascertainable	7

b. Have you attended the ceremony of gilding the Buddha's footprint at Wat BC every year, or only in some years, or only once in many years, or never?

1. Every year	225
2. Only in some years	62
3. Once in many years	17
4. Never	9
5. Unascertainable	20

[291]

49.a. Excuse me, this is a strange question, but do you own a pair of shoes?

6. Yes	136
7. No	197

b. Of what various materials are your shoes made?

8. Leather	65
9. Cloth, canvas	87
X. Other, specify_____	11
0. Unascertainable	
— No Answer	1

[412]

50.a. In your household, is there a hatchet, or not?

1. Yes, hatchet	309
2. No	24

[416]

b. (In your household), is there a pressure lamp, or not?

3. Yes, pressure lamp	188
4. No	145

c. (In your household), is there a flashlight or not?

5. Yes, flashlight	271
6. No	61
— No Answer	1

125 [412] 50.d. (In your household) is there a pair of scissors of any kind or not?

7.	Yes, scissors	219
8.	No	114

[207] e. (In your household) is there a radio or not?

9.	Yes, radio	47
0.	No	286

[402] f. (In your household) is there a winnowing machine, or not?

X.	Yes, winnowing machine	102
Y.	No	231

[243] [402] g. (In your household) is there a windmill, or not?

1.	Yes, windmill	161
2.	No	172

[805] [405] 51. Do you have a wrist watch, or not?

3.	Yes	79
4.	No	252
—	No Answer	2

[231] a. Here in your household, how many buffaloes do you own?

5.	None	81
6.	One	127
7.	Two	67
8.	Three	61
9.	Four or more	97

b. (Here in your household) how many pigs do you have?

0.	None	321
1.	One	9
2.	Two	2
3.	3 or more	1
—	No Answer	7

[235] c. (Here in your household) how many chickens do you have?

4.	None	35
5.	1 to 2	7
6.	3 to 4	17
7.	5 to 9	31
8.	10 or more	243

d. (Here in your household) how many ducks do you have?

0.	None	206
1.	1 to 2	9
2.	3 to 4	16
3.	5 to 9	58
4.	10 or more	42